

Message Text

SECRET

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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5752

S E C R E T PRETORIA 4494

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SCHAUFELLE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, RH, SA
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE MEETING WITH SOUTH AFRICANS

1. UPON OUR RETURN TO PRETORIA FROM SALISBURY IT SEEMS NECESSARY
TO TALK TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS WHO HAVE ALREADY EXPRESSED
DESIRE TO MEET. I WOULD RECOMMEND THAT ROWLANDS AND I TOGETHER
SEE FOURIE OCTOBER 5, LEAVING THE CHANNEL TO VORSTER FOR YOUR
USE IF IT PROVES NECESSARY.

2. ALLOWING FOR ANY ADDITIONAL POINTS WHICH MAY GROW OUT OF
OUR TALKS WITH SMITH WHO WILL PROBABLY BRIEF VORSTER ANYWAY,
I SUGGEST FOLLOWING GENERAL POINTS:

- NO SPECIFIC REJECTIONS, BUT SOME RESERVATIONS AND
QUESTIONS, WERE RAISED BY NYERERE, KAUNDA AND NKOMO IN THEIR
TALKS WITH THE SECRETARY.

- WE WOULD HAVE EXPECTED FURTHER REFLECTIONS TO RAISE DOUBTS
ABOUT SPECIFICS SUCH AS THE TWO SECURITY MINISTRIES AND
INDEED THAT HAS HAPPENED.

- IN DEALING WITH THOSE QUESTIONS FIVE PRESIDENTS HAVE A
DIFFICULT TIME RECONCILING THEIR DIFFERENT PERCEPTIONS,
IDEOLOGIES AND PRIORITIES SO THAT ANY COMMON DECLARATION
TENDS TO INCLUDE, FROM OUR STANDPOINT, POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE

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ELEMENTS.

- HOWEVER, THERE HAS BEEN NO CONCLUSIVE PUBLIC REJECTION OF ANY OF THE POINTS.

- FURTHERMORE, THE PRESIDENTS--AND NATIONALISTS--WILL TEND TO MAINTAIN THEIR RHETORICAL POSITIONS IN PUBLIC, IN PART TO SHOW NECESSARY TOUGHNESS, AND TO STRENGTHEN AFRICA'S BARGAINING POSITION DURING THIS PRE-NEGOTIATION PHASE.

- IN PRIVATE PRESIDENTS RAISE QUESTIONS ABOUT SECURITY MINISTRIES, POWERS AND COMPOSITION OF COUNCIL OF STATE AND SIMILAR DETAILS, BUT MAKE NO PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS EXCEPT EXTREME ONES WHICH THEY PROBABLY REALIZE ARE UNACCEPTABLE.

- ONCE A CONFERENCE CONVENES THE ATMOSPHERE WILL BE QUITE DIFFERENT IF ONLY BECAUSE THE NATIONALISTS, NOT THE FIVE PRESIDENTS, WILL BE DOING THE TALKING. WE ARE REASONABLY CERTAIN THAT AT LEAST SOME OF THE NATIONALISTS ARE ANXIOUS TO GET OUT FROM UNDER "TUTELAGE" OF FIVE PRESIDENTS TO CARRY OUT THEIR OWN NEGOTIATIONS.

- THEREFORE, THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION SHOULD FORCE THOSE PARTICULAR LEADERS, WHO OBVIOUSLY SEEK RESPONSIBILITY, A BETTER POSITION FOR LATER POLITICAL JOCKEYING AND THE SPOILS OF OFFICE, TO BE PREPARED TO BARGAIN IN SOMEWHAT MORE REALISTIC TERMS THAN SOME PUBLIC STATEMENTS WOULD INDICATE.

- WE HAVE GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT A CONFERENCE SHOULD BE HELD. BUT THERE ARE RADICALS, AND PROBABLY THE SOVIETS AS WELL, WHO WOULD LIKE TO DELAY IT, PREVENT THE INSTALLATION OF A MODERATE AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND IMPROVE THE RADICAL MILITARY POSITION. WE SHOULD NOT PLAY INTO THEIR HANDS.

- WE HAVE URGED THE RHODESIANS NOT TO PANIC BUT TO MOVE FORWARD TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE. CERTAINLY THERE WILL BE MANY ITEMS AND DETAILS DISCUSSED, BUT A RESOLUTION OF THE DIFFERENCES SHOULD BE POSSIBLE. THE PRESENCE OF A BRITISH CHAIRMAN CAN HELP TO RESOLVE THESE QUESTIONS IN A WAY THAT DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD NOT.

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A WE STAND BEHIND ANNEX C, THE FIVE POINTS AND THE GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE THEY PROVIDE, AND ONCE THE CONFERENCE STARTS WE ARE PREPARED TO USE OUR INFLUENCE TO ACHIEVE THESE ENDS.

- THE PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE IS TO CONVENE A CONFERENCE QUICKLY AND INSTALL AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT UNDER MODERATE AFRICAN

LEADERSHIP.

3. REQUEST INSTRUCTIONS BY COB OCT. 4.
BOWDLER

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NNN

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